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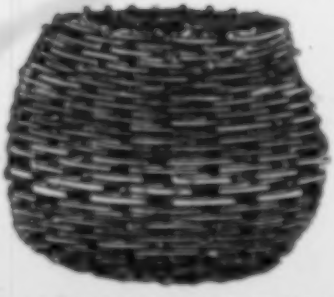
Fig. 108. Basket in wicker work in imitation of those of the half-breeds. Prov.: Ivu. (About 1/4 nat. size.)



[524]

Fig. 109. Miniature basket (child's toy). (Nat. size.)

1: Métraux--344 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/473/

Chapter XIII

Toys and Games

524 [126] All the toys which Chiriguano parents make for their children or the latter put together themselves are represented in my collections. Nevertheless, I consider it useless to give a description of them, for Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 193-200) has been greatly /Fig. 133 appears here/ concerned with this and has reproduced all of them. Simply as a curiosity I sketch a doll clothed in the traditional tipoy and the hair of which is intertwined with a ribbon in the Chiriguano manner (Fig. 133). A little bag (Fig. 134) contains a whole assortment of tipoy in miniature. Minuscule vessels and baskets (Fig. 109) have been made for the use of little girls, who, in playing, thus learn little by little to become excellent housewives. [868]

String figures. I have never seen children make string figures (cat-craddle /cat's cradle/), but I know they are acquainted with them. At Cururutí an Indian amused himself by executing a whole series for me, some of which were sewn by the Indians themselves onto the leaves of my notebook. According to the figure they wanted to produce, they used both hands or helped with the mouth and feet (Figs. 135 and 136). The "full moon" (Plate XXXIX, 3) /Fig. 134 appears here/ was made by my Indian who, having sat down, used feet and hands.

524 121 String figures have extraordinary interest from the point of view of comparative ethnography. If they prove themselves identical in two different regions, they can testify to trade or migrations, like certain games which pass from one region to the other without modifying their character or modalities. Games are the most stable of all cultural elements since they are independent of the environment, race, or way of life, at least in general. It is urgent to collect in South America /474/ the greatest possible number of string figures in order to be able to study their distribution. For this continent we know only a very small number, but this, insignificant as it may be, already allows us to establish some very curious facts.

[Text continues on p. 346]

1: Métraux--345 E-S (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

524

Fig. 133. Chiriguano doll (woman with her tipoy). Prov.: Caipipendí. (2/5 nat. size.)

Fig. 134. Miniature clothes bag, full of little tipoy. Chiriguano. Prov.: Ibopeyti. (1/2 nat. size.)

/474 cont./

already allows us to establish some very curious facts. Thus among the string figures I have brought together, three are exactly like figures from various tribes of the upper Negro River and the Guianas. The first is the one the Chiriguano call "full moon" (yasiwasu) (Plate LXXXIX, 3) and we find it again among the Siusí of the Alary River under the name of "tapir intestines" (Koch-Grünberg, 2

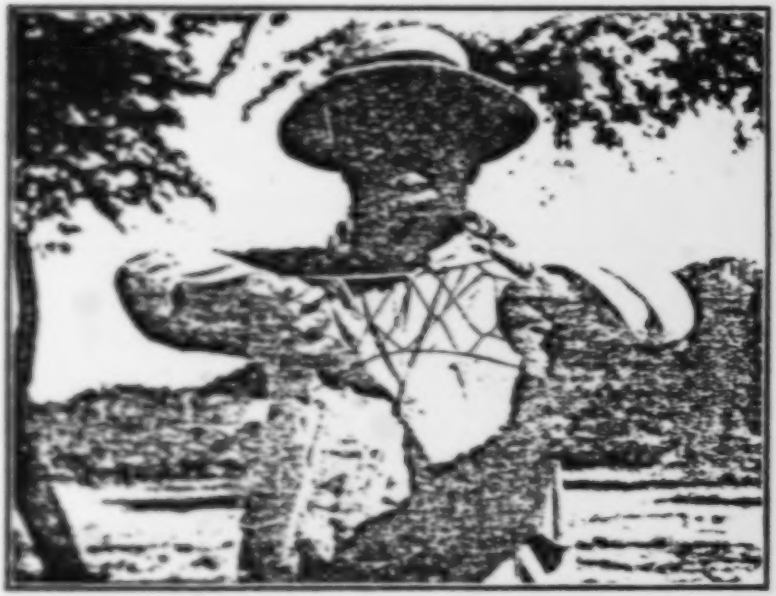


Fig. 135. Indian executing the string figure called "snake designs" (mboi-kwatía). Caruruti (Photo. A. M.)

Vol. I, Fig. 69 c, p. 123), among the Tukano / Tucano/ designated as being a "tapir with its four feet," and among the Betoya simply as "a tapir" (id., Vol. I, p. 253, and Vol. II, Fig. 73, p. 131).

Our "star" (yasi-tata) (Plate LXXXIX, 1) is interpreted as a "spider" by the Siusí (id., Vol. I, Fig. 69 g, p. 123) and the Kobeua (id., Fig. 73, p. 131), but the Wapiana /Wapishana/ see a "star" in this figure, exactly like the Chiriguano (cf. Roth, Fig. 267, p. 513).

/474 cont./

524 171 The "snake designs" (mboi kwatía) (Plate XC, Fig. 3) have their equivalents among the Akawoi, Arawak, Wapišana, and Patamona (Roth, Fig. 289, Fig. 526), but represent, according to these Indians: "four fish walking" (sic). In his book on the Indians of the Chaco, /Plates LXXXIX and XC appear here/ /475/ Nordenskiöld (2, Fig. 25, p. 71) gives the photograph of a Choroti child who has just executed a cat-craddle identical with our "snake design." It is regrettable that Nordenskiöld has not given its meaning.

524 The string figure on Plate XC, 3/4 2 represents the mark borne by the woolen blankets (jergón) the creoles put under their saddles. There is no doubt that the indigenous meaning of this figure has been forgotten and replaced by a new appellation. This is probably what has happened also to the cat-craddle (Fig. 136) named culo de caballo /horse's rear end/. /Fig. 136 appears here./ /See p. 350./

String figures can be subdivided into two categories, the first including all those which form a stable figure like a design, and the second those which represent an object, animal, or organ by synthesizing its characteristic movement.

Thus the string figures on Plates LXXXIX-XC belong to the first class, but the one which the Indian on Figure 136 is in the act of executing belongs to the second. The latter cat-craddle consists in opening or closing a small circle of string which is supposed to represent the contractions of a horse's anus.

524 171 Among the Siusí there are also mobile string figures which symbolize an animal by imitating its typical movements (the "caterpillar," for example) exactly as among the Chiriguano.

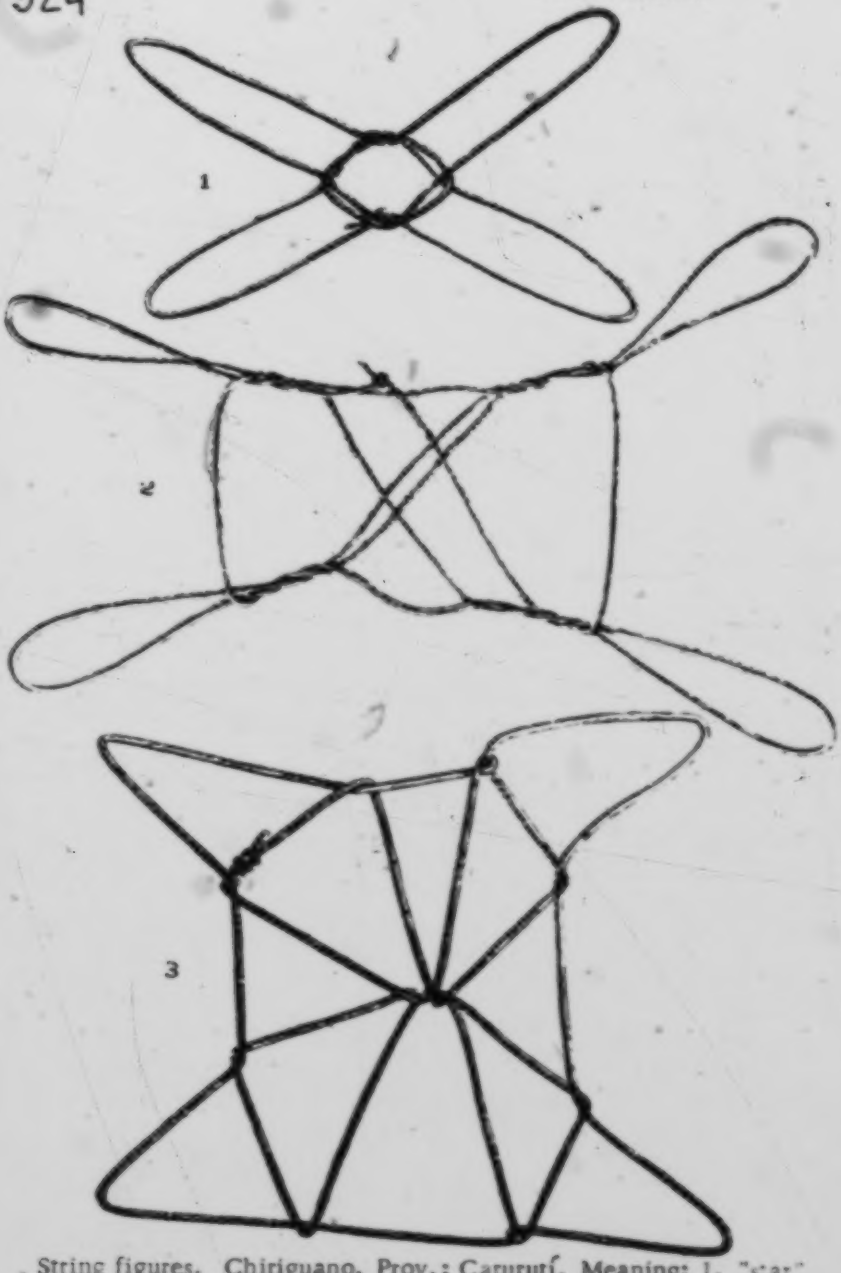
524 171 177 The resemblances between the Chiriguano string figures and those of the /476/ Guianan tribes could be explained by Arawak influence, and we could suppose that the Chané kept the figures common to the whole family. String figures travel very rapidly and only their meaning changes. Therefore it is possible that the Chiriguano were acquainted with them before being in contact with the Arawak.

3/4 [See P. 349--Analyst]

1: Métraux--348 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

• 524

Plate LXXXIX

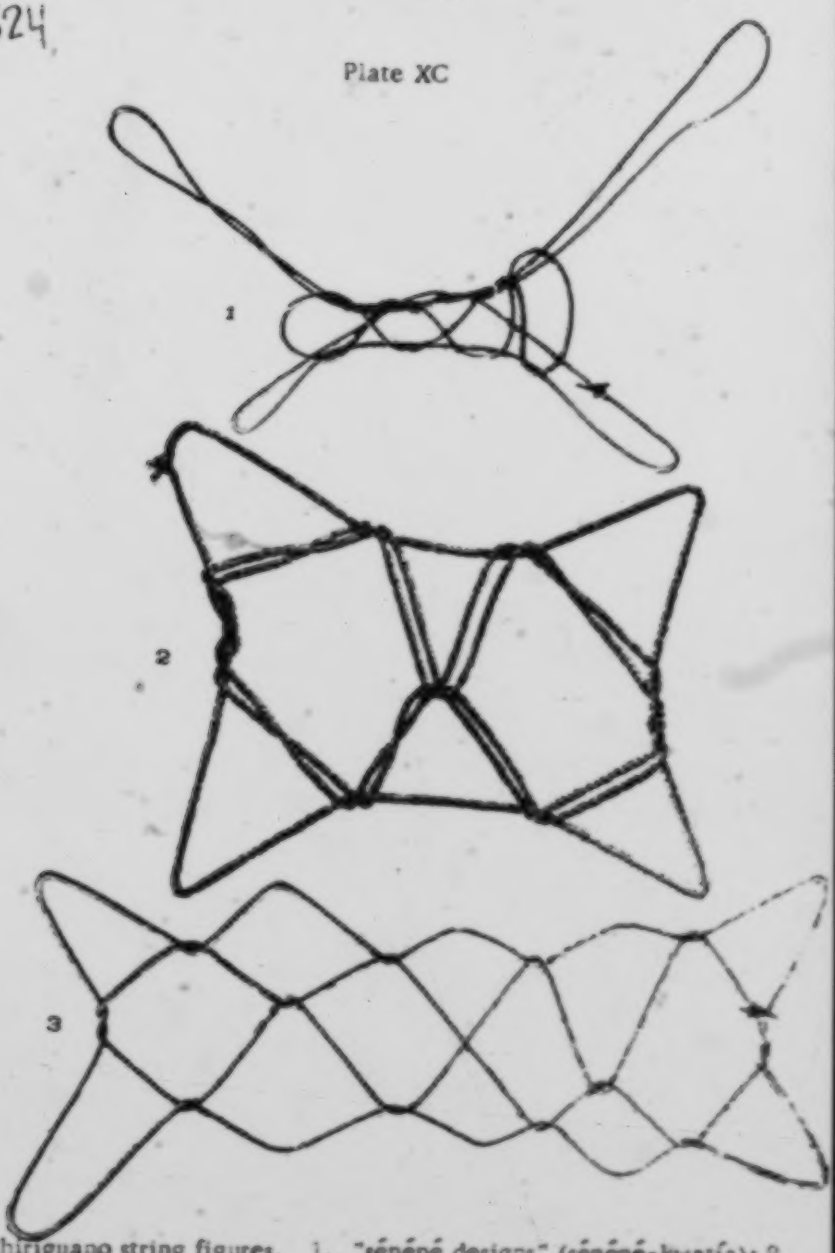


, String figures. Chiriguano. Prov.: Cararutí. Meaning: 1, "star" (yasi-tata); 2, "sénéné (Chiriguano whistle with engraved designs) designs" (sénéné-kwatía); 3, "full moon" (yasi-wasu).

1: Métraux--349 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

• 524

Plate XC



Chiriguano string figures. 1. "sénéné designs" (sénéné-kwatía); 2. "horse-blanket (jergón) mark" (karuna-kwatía); 3. "snake designs" (mboi-kwatía).

/476 cont./

123 Drawings. On Plates XCI-XCIII one can see gathered to-
126 gether a certain number of drawings executed for my sake by
532 Chiriguano Indians. In order to obtain them I first approached
several old men, who refused with an outraged air as if I were
123 asking them to do a thing beneath their dignity. A small boy
126 of 12, Consito, two young men, Asensio and José Miguel, and
115
532

524

Fig. 136. Indian executing the mobile string figure called "culo de caballo /horse's rear end/.

123
126
115 a girl, Iwawasei, showed themselves willing to cover the pages
532 of my album with all kinds of sketches.

Consito did not have to be begged: I was proposing to him a game not only pleasant but fruitful, and he had soon filled two pages (Plate XCI. 1, 2, 4, 9; Plate XCII. 2, 4; Plate
115 XCIII. 1, 3, 10). Asensio, my faithful friend, also gave me
123 complete satisfaction. He was a curious individual, and I keep
126 a particularly vivid and congenial memory of him. He was 25 to 30 years old and was conspicuous because of his extraordinary
[322] activity and ingenuity. At any moment of the day he could be seen busy cutting or carving a piece of wood which then

[See pp 355-359-- Analyst]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping.

Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (*fig. 59, b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (*bird arrow*). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

Chiriguano chiefs (*mburubicha*) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (*tubicha rubicha*) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

Gambling.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[9] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous taba game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

Games.—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapeti River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

Chiriguano women had a game (itarapoa) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tunpa, or Iandapoha ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratunpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guaraní*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ama," the souls of the dead.

[9] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 337).

/27 cont./

137 824 [262] which is purple when mature and opens into three sections when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both whites and Chiriguano like. The color is a bright purple, it is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource for human life in the months of February and March. In Chiriguano it is called "Ñacagüina." The caraparí is another cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its congenial land, /28/ since it is not found everywhere. It is admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought [342] by foxes. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless [759] doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments, etc. They say that it is even good for goiter. There is another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centimeters; it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines. In Chiriguano it is called "Zipepe." The children, as we shall [524] see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and [262] produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiacaru" in Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano [342] by the name of "Caraguata guasu." Its special place is the [283] hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it [492] grows well enough, and its leaves are extraordinarily broad and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters; from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season. [286] The Toba and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which [171] they call chipa or "añapoca," which is very useful, inasmuch [482] as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from [227] the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers, and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in any part of the Old World.

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it; most of them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have [513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they [178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and [237] to have cots like the whites use; the open part of the latter is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either;
576 when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on
516 the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit
352 down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For
322 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of
[574] wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for [412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter [438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like [439] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use [824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharrosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel.
352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ő inni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

● 524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/181 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 30 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiuca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 524 576 516 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat. The woman does not wait; she knows her place; she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many carronades /camaretas/ ready to go off.

Matés

462 241 415 322 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place is occupied by the matés, made of gourds divided vertically through the middle. This is man's work: he plants them and cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and completely remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 415 531 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, doves, lizards, dogs, chickens,

/220 cont./

857 868 The boys have different ways of learning how to be accurate in shooting arrows and to be good hunters and brave warriors. In the field or in the woods they amuse themselves usefully, ambushing and taking as a target little birds and even grasshoppers when there are any, and when they go back home they give proof of their manliness by sticking the arrow into the mortar in which their mother customarily grinds maize.

857 868 526 [411] 824 When the boys gather together in the town, they learn the use of the arrow, shooting it at a wooden wheel which one of them makes roll as fast as he can. This wheel is made of a type of round cactus which grows a cuarta or a little more and is called Zipepe. The boys, armed with arrows, line up, and the best one will succeed in driving his into the soft material of the zipepe. /221/ The zipepe is at the same time a school for target shooting and a game; of the latter they have • 524 others which I shall name in passing. They have the Pinono, top. This is different from that of the towns of the Republic. It is a small gourd with a hole in the middle in the upper part. When they spin it, the air produces a prolonged sound like that of little calves who are lowing very gently, and from this comes its name, Pinono.

Another game for young and old is pelota, which has a definite season. This is when there is fresh maize, or the cold is beginning to be felt. They call it Topo, and it is done with the husk of fresh maize; thus, when the fresh maize season ends, the game of pelota also ends, and they amuse themselves with many other games that they have (1).

1. These will not be listed because this is not the subject of this chapter, and in addition it would be very tiring for the reader.

/378 cont./

726 727 Then they enter the houses, pillage anything of value they find, break all the clay vessels, pour out all the chicha, without taking any for fear that it may be poisoned, and, finally, before the eyes of the women and children prisoners, set fire to the town, which burns until it is reduced to ashes.

[203] As soon as victory has been declared by the invaders, the cacique orders that one of the horsemen take the happy news to their town, so that the women can rejoice and finish the fermentation of the chicha. Meanwhile, when the pillaging is over and the houses reduced to ashes, they divide among all of them the women, girls, and children, and take them triumphantly back to the town. Some lancers lopped from their victims some heads of the men killed in the combat, which will serve as trophies of war.

/379/

727 524 659 After the Victory

The victors are received with extraordinary joy, and then all glances are first fixed on the heads that are on the tips of their lances; they insult them and jeer them with much cruelty, hang them from some tree in the town or in the plaza, and there they stay as toys for the little boys, who set up games using them as targets to learn the use of the arrow and be good shots, and when they have become tired of seeing them there, they take them down, tie them to strings, and drag them through the streets, attracting everybody's attention with their shouting and games. They are that very inhumane, and their parents watch with pleasure what their children are doing (1).

1. After or during the war of Curuyuqui, they brought to the town the head of the Indian Chabuco, and they did more or less what I have said, with slight differences.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

XVIII.

Games.

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Ce
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C
Ce
[137]

I have found a greater number of games among the Chiriguano and Chané than are known to any other tribes in S. America. In the first part of this book I pointed out that games of chance were known only in the west of S. America and that the »tsúka» or the »chunquanti» game is one that has come to the Indians in Chaco from the civilized area in the west. I also mentioned having found it among the Chiriguano and Chané. It is not necessary to repeat the description of the game here, as it occurs in Part I of this work.

The Chiriguano and Chané have another dice game called »chukareta» which is played with a heap of sticks. Those sticks are convex on one side and flat or concave on the other. It is played in the following manner.

First you place a stick (máma) so that it points towards the person who is to throw. We assume it has been placed with the convex side up. If two or more sticks fall crossed with the convex side up and without being touched above by any stick with the flat or concave side up, they go to the throwers. If the máma had been placed with the flat or concave side up, only the sticks with the flat or concave side up would have counted. The players throw alternately and each of them places the máma as he pleases. The one wins who gets most sticks. When only four sticks are

[1]) With the exception of the chunquanti-game I here repeat the description of Chiriguano and Chané games so as to group them in one place, though I have given them before. There are already several descriptions, but as they are only in Swedish they are regarded by many explorers as non-existent.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

C
Ce
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left, no mima is put out and the players decide if the convex or flat (concave) side is to count.

C
Ce
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177

Other games of chance that are common here have most likely been borrowed from the Whites. »Taba», the well known national game of the Gauchos, is played, the astragalus of a cow being thrown, and it depends on which side of the bone turns up whether you win or lose.

The European game of dice goes by the name of »daro», here from the Spanish »dado». The Chiriguano and Chané have dice of their own make. They are made of bone or burnt clay. In Tihüipa I wrote down the rules of this

Fig. 31. Rules for the game of »daro». Chiriguano, Tihüipa.

game shown in Fig. 31. All other combinations are = 0. The first to get ten marks, has won. The marks are made on the ground. It is plain that these dice are an imitation of European dice. Those at the top of the illustration correspond to our one, the next to our five; then comes two, then six, then three and next four. They seem to have made their own rules for this game or else they are a re-hash of those of the Whites. There is no doubt that card playing has come from the Whites. The cards they use are bought in stores.

C
Ce
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Of the games of skill occurring here I have in the first part of this book described in detail a bat and ball game (map 28) and a game with maize leaf balls (map 29).

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chané SF8

a striking similarity between «laxtli», the Mexican ball game, and the one which is played in the West Indies and South America when you take into consideration the different standard of civilization of these peoples. You cannot expect to get the same elaborate rules of a game from a tribe of low culture as from one of a much higher standard. The balls used for tlaxtli were of india-rubber. In Mexico too they played in such wise that the ball was not touched with the hand but with the hip.[1] The same game was also played by the Maya.[2]

C
Ce
526
1918

One sometimes sees Chané and Chiriguano women playing a game like nine-pins which is called «tarapia» by the former and «tocoróre» by the latter. They played it as follows at Tiñhipa. Two rows of maize grains were laid out, two grains on each other like miniature nine-pins at a distance of 4 or 5 feet. Two persons took turns in playing, trying to knock down each others maize nine-pins with a stone ball. The one who first knocked down all the other players nine-pins won the game.

C
Ce
526

At Rio Parapiti the players had three nine-pins each. There was a distance of one fathom between the ninepins of the two players. Every nine-pin consisted of an empty maize cob and the distance between them was the span of a hand. (the greater[3]). They used a ball of burnt clay, hollow, with small rattling marbles inside.

I saw a quoits-game «parama» played by the Chiriguano at Caipipendi. It is a game for two. A button or something of the kind is put on a stone as a target and the play-

C
524 ●

rierum permistione conderevant. Quis dixisset, undenam hoc tantis tantorum, tot per regionis spatiorum, in re non exigui utique momenti, consperatum.»

[1] Joyce (a). P. 166. «The players were special gauntlets but the most esteemed variety of the game was that in which they were not allowed the use of their hands at all, but struck the ball with their hips.»

[2] Joyce (a) P. 302.

[3] The maximum distance between the thumb and little finger.

C 524 ers throw round pieces of potsherd or flat round stones at it. The button has to be knocked down and the one who has got nearest to it wins a point. The game goes on till one of the players has five or more points according to agreement.

Ce 524 «Sioki» is another game that I have seen Chiné boys play at Rio Parapiti. It is played by two boys with miniature arrow-darts (fig. 33) [A]. First one boy throws his dart into the ground and then the other, who tries to get as near it as possible. If he gets within the span of a hand (the greater or nearer still to his opponent's arrow he wins a point, and a mark is made on the ground. He is the winner, who first has six marks while the other player has none. In reckoning the points only those count which one player has above the other.

«Heirahuahua» is a game that is only played by small Chiné boys at Rio Parapiti. It is played by two boys with a stick apiece. (Fig. 34) [A]. One of them throws his stick so that the point strikes the ground and rebounds as far as possible. Then the other boy throws. The one who has thrown farthest gets a point. He wins who first has eight points while the other has none, that is to say, he must have eight points more than the other boy.

C 526 «Sigéye» is a game for boys which I have seen played by the Chiriguano in Vendola at Rio Pilcomayo. The boys form two sides 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, 6, 7, 8. No. 4, let us say, begins by throwing a discus made of a flat cactus from which the spikes have been removed. The discus is hurled with great speed. The opposing team tries to hit it with their arrows. If this happens No. 4 has to walk out and have a shot at the discus which has been placed in a furrow with its edges facing the shooter. If he hits it he may return with his arrow. If he misses he forfeits his arrow and No. 3 succeeds him. No. 2 comes in if No. 3 misses, and No. 1 in the same way. Should he miss too, then 5, 6 etc. shoot till one of them hits the mark. The arrows

[A] [i.e., Fig. 33. - Ed.] [A] [i.e., Fig. 32. - Ed.]

Schwabenhöhle E-6,4 (1900-1905, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

that have not hit the mark are out of the game. If one hits the discus thrown by No. 4, it has to be thrown by No. 5 and then in the turn of 4, 3 etc. to try and hit it. The player who loses all his arrows is out of the game. The last one who has any arrows left has won, or rather his side. The arrows used for this game are decorated in order that each player may know his own.

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Thus we find two games of chance[1]) and eight games of skill among the Chané and Chiriguano. Nothing like this number of games is known from any other Indians in South America. The following table shows us their distributions within the territory that I have explored.

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Table 11.

	Chiriguano	Chané	Ayoreo (Zamuco)	Guaycurú (Mbayá)	Guaycurú (Pilagá)	Matacoan (Noctenes)	Matacoan (Chorote)	Chipaya	Uchupiá	Churumata	Sum total
Ashluslay	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Avakwaru	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Ayoreo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Caraibs	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Charrúa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Chiriguano	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Chané	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Chiriguano	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Chiriguano	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
Chiriguano	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Chorote	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Guaraya (Arhuaco)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Guaraya (Tupinamba)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Guaycurú	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Guaycurú	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Guaycurú	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Guaycurú	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Guaycurú	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Inka	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Lengua-Maskoy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Lengua	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Lengua	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Lengua	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0

1) In the sixteenth century.
2) See Ehrenreich [16].

NoDenskiöld E-5,9(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chané SP8

C
Ce 524 *171 In no other tribe among whom I have travelled have I found any quite original game unknown to the Chiriguano or Chané. Very few are known from other parts of South America.

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Ce 524 *171 177 I have already said that games of chance must have come to the Chiriguano and Chané from the civilized area of the west. Games with maize-leaf balls and india-rubber balls are northern culture-elements. Bat and ball games are southern culture-elements. Quoits-games most likely hail from the civilized parts of the west. I found discs that may have been used for such games at Caipipendi and also in the old settlements in the San Fransisco valley in the province of Jujuy in Argentine. Quoits-games are common among the Quichua. — I cannot tell where the Indians here dealt with learned to play with marbles, or to play «sipépe» and «huirahuahua». — I have found nothing about such games in the literature. The game of «sónki» may possibly be a northern culture element. Hand-darts like those used by the Chané are mentioned by Koch-Grünberg from southern Guiana In Boldyder's collection in the Gothenburg museum there is a hand-dart of the kind from the Chimila in Columbia.

The reason why we find such a number of games among the Chiriguano and Chané is that the latter tribe is an Arawak tribe and that they have been strongly influenced by western civilization. They know not only the Arawak games, but several games that were of importance in the civilized parts of the west.

Schwedenschild E-4,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chaco SP1

XIX.

Playthings.

I will now pass on to speak of the playthings of the Chiriguano and Chané children, leaving out such as are merely imitations of things used by the elders. They include dolls, buzz-discs, hoops and whips, humming-tops, »bullroarers«, and rifles».

I have collected dolls from the following tribes: — Chiriguano, (clay). Chané (wax, cloth, clay). Chorotí (unburnt clay, bone). Toba (ditto). Tapiete (unburnt clay.) Mataco (unburnt clay.) Yuracáre (wax). Chimáne (wood). Guarayú-Mission (wood or cloth).

Except among the Chiriguano[1]) and Chané[2]) I have only seen the humming-top among the Quichua[3]) and the Chimáne[4]). Koch-Grünberg[5]) mentions it from N. W. Brazil and from the Roraima-Indians[6]) and Krause[7]) from the Karajá. At present I deem it impossible to say whether we have here a genuinely Indian culture-element or not.

The same is true of the buzz-disc. Its distribution may be seen from the table 12 which I only publish in order to arouse interest in these apparently insignificant objects. It is necessarily very incomplete.

It is doubtful whether the rifles (Fig. 34) is genuinely Indian.

[1]) R. M. E. 358.
[2]) R. M. P. 64.
[3]) R. M. 03. 26. 230.
[4]) G. M. 13. 1. 922.
[5]) (1) Vol. 1, P. 121.
[6]) (2) P. 58.
[7]) Fig. 173. P. 310.

Schwabenhöfle E-8,9(1908-1909, 1913) 1989
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chané SF4

C
Cc
584 ●
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Excepting the Chané I only know of hoops from the Huari. What I have seen of shell-rosaries I have already mentioned in Part I. S. American Indian play-things are altogether too little known for us to draw anthropogeographical conclusions concerning their distribution.

Table 12.

Distribution of the hoop-disc.

Chiriguano, R. M. E. 463.
Chané, R. M. P. 180.
Karajá, Krause P. 311, Fig. 176.
Yuracáre, R. M. V. 65.
Indians Roraima, Macusi, Wapisiána etc. Koch-Grünberg (3) P. 80.
Cayua, G. M. 15. 1. 1453.
Itonama, G. M. 15. 1. 1266.

6: Nordenskiöld--43 E-S (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

/190 cont./

Games

Ea 524 ● [177]

Sometimes one sees the men playing. The most common game is now taba, which is played with the ankle bone of a cow and which these Indians learned in the sugar factories. Dice games, too, are not uncommon there. The rules for these seem to be their own, or rather seem to be copied from the whites.

"Daro," as the Chiriguano call the dice game after the Spanish, is played by two persons with /191/ dice made by them themselves. In Tiluipa I noted down the following rules for this game (Fig. 93).

All other combinations are = 0. The first one to have ten strokes wins. The strokes are marked on the floor.

As for their own games of chance, they have two. The first is the same as the one we became acquainted with on page 73 /untranslated/ in connection with the Chorote and Ashluslay. The Chiriguano call this game "chicarly," the Chané "chunquiuri" (1).

Fig. 93. Rule for the game of "daro." Chiriguano. Tiluipa.

Ea [113]

1. Cf. Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethn., 1910, Nos. 3 and 4.

The other game known to the Chiriguano and Chané I did not see among any other Indians. They call it tukcareta and play it with a pile of little sticks which are convex on one side and flat or concave on the other (Fig. 94).

First a stick (mâma) is placed in such a way that it points to the one who is supposed to throw (Fig. 96). Let us assume that it is placed so that the convex side is up. If two or more sticks fall on one another crosswise with the convex side up and without being touched on the upper side by a stick with the flat side up, they go to the thrower. If the mâma had been placed so that the flat side was up, only those which formed a cross with the flat side up would have counted.

6: Nordenskiöld--44 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

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/191 cont./

The players take turns throwing, and each one places the máma to suit himself. The one who gets the most sticks wins.

If only four sticks are left, no máma is put down any more, but the players decide whether the convex or flat (concave) ones are to count.

/192/ Sometimes one sees the women playing ninepins, called

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Fig. 94. Chané boys playing chunquanti on the Rio Iriyuro.

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"itarapóa" by the Chiriguano in Tihuĩpa, "tocoróre" by the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

In Tihuĩpa it was played in the following manner. Two rows of maize kernels, two with one on top of the other in each case, were set up four to five feet apart as pins. Two persons played alternately, trying to knock down the maize pins of the other with a stone ball. The first to knock down all the maize pins of the other was the winner.

/192 cont./

On the Rio Pilcomayo three pins were used on each side. The distance between the pins of the opponent was three ells. Each pin consisted of a shelled ear of maize, and the distance between them was supposed to be a hand span (1). The balls

1. Longest distance between thumb and little finger.

used are made of fired clay and are hollow, with small, rattling pellets inside (Fig. 99). /Plate 17 appears here./

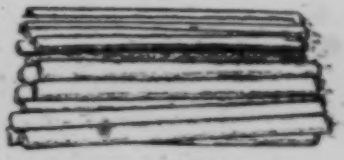

Fig. 95.
Little sticks for the tshűcareta game. 2/9.

/193/ The Life of the Indian Children

If one speaks of the life in the villages, one must not forget the children. The children play, but also help the adults. They are reared like the Choroti and Ashluslay children. They spend their lives in happy freedom, without thrashings and harsh words.

The Chiriguano and Chané children have a number of games and toys which one never sees the children of the whites in Bolivia use, and all of which seem to me to be genuinely Indian.

First of all, the Indian children play the games of the adults that I have already mentioned. Of the Choroti and Ashluslay games, they are familiar with the hockey-like game of ball, which the Chiriguano call "táca." I did not see it played among the Chané. As goals they use pits, and sometimes they hit the

[text continues on p. 47] ball with rackets.

/193 cont./
balls with rackets. This is a boys' game here. An extraordinarily attractive and difficult game is "tóki," which I saw played by the boys of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. It is played by two, four, six, or more persons in two divisions. The balls of solid rubber are first tossed into the air by one of the players and then tossed with the head to the opponents' side from where it is sup-

Fig. 96. Máma is set out. Tshúcareta game. Tĩhuĩpa. Chiriguano.

posed to be hit back again with the head. Touching the ball with the hand is forbidden. The side that has missed the ball five or ten times, according to what has been agreed upon, loses.

The game of tóki is mentioned in one of the legends of the Chané Indians. In this legend we see how difficult it was in former times for the Chané to obtain rubber for the balls; /194/ it had to be brought from afar because there is no rubber in the Chaco.

Now they get the rubber balls from Santa Cruz de la Sierra. I saw "tóki" played only by boys. In olden times it was played not only by the men, but also by the gods. It is known particularly

6: Nordenskiöld--46 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chiquito SF9

/194 cont./ It is known particularly from the Chiquito Indians (1). CO 526

1. Erbauliche und angenehme Geschichten /Edifying and Pleasant Tales/. Vienna. 1729. Page 85. CO [113]

SF24 SF17

Fig. 97. The sticks are thrown Tshúcareta game. CO 526

D'Orbigny (2) also mentions this charming game of the Chiquito.

2. D'Orbigny: Voyage. Partie historique. Vol. 2, pages 594-595. CO [113]

On the Rio Guaporé I saw Chiquitano-speaking /195/ rubber workers playing the game, and they were extraordinarily adept at hitting the ball with their heads. Lying on their stomachs, they even caught low balls, which almost touched the ground, in the same manner.

[i.e. The game of Tóki -- Analyst]

6t Nordenskiöld--49 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Venezuelan Indians SS4

V 526 /135 cont./

Games with rubber balls seem to have become familiar to the Spaniards at a very late date. This is evident from the astonishment /Fig. 97 appears here/ with which Gumilla (1) mentions them.

[V 133]

1. Gumilla: El Orinoco Ilustrado, Madrid, 1745. Page 190.

C 524 516

Fig. 98. The players look to see how the sticks have fallen.

V 526 [314]

He says that the balls and the manner of playing with them are remarkable. The ball is large and made from a wood sap called caucho; with a light blow it flies as high as a man is tall.

Gumilla says that the Indians on the Orinoco /196/ played with the right shoulder. If the ball hit another part of the body, the player lost a point. He admired their playing, for they threw the ball ten, twelve times and more, without its touching the ground.

G: Nordenskiöld--51 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chané SF 8

C
• 524

/197 cont./

I saw the "parama" game played by the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley. It is played by two. A button or the like is placed on a stone as a goal, whereupon they throw small round stones made of clay sherds. The button is supposed to be struck down, and the one /Figs. 100 and 101 appear here/ who comes closest to it wins a stroke. The game goes on until one of them has five or more strokes, according to agreement.

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The Chané and Chiriguano children also have a number of toys which are illustrated here (Figs. 104-105). One of these, "mou-mou" (Fig. 104), is strange. With it /198/ a buzzing tone is produced if the threads are first twisted and then stretched.

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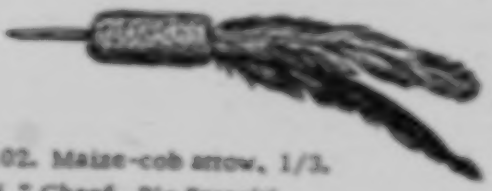

Fig. 102. Maize-cob arrow, 1/3.
"Sôuki." Chané. Rio Parapiti.

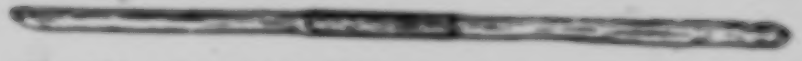

Fig. 103. Little stick for the huirahuahua game. 1/3. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

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Now I have no doubt properly bored my readers with Indian games and toys. Perhaps I have dwelt too long on this subject, so little studied in South America, which interested me keenly on my journey. As among the Choroti and Ashluslay, I liked playing with the boys. This is also a way of coming closer to the Indians, of winning their confidence.

Ee
[123]

Ee
85
[197]
[177]

Like the Choroti and Ashluslay children, the children of the Chané and Chiriguano are seldom bored; like the former, they are well-behaved and good children. It is usually very lively on the playgrounds in the villages. This is true of the heathen. The children who have fallen into the hands of the monks look melancholy and reserved; they have already been given a taste of what the children of the white man learn, training and the beginning of civilization. "You shall..." "You shall not..."

C Ce Ct 524 526 171

/198 cont./

The games and toys are of great interest from the anthropo-geographical point of view. We do not find the majority of them outside the Chaco and the adjacent regions of South America. On the other hand, we find them in North America. Consequently I have /199/ /Ill. 104 appears here/ /200/ come to the conclusion (1)

1. See also Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, 1910. Nos. 3 and 4.

that the games and toys are vestiges from a time when the cultural exchange between North and South America was greater than now, or, more correctly, that traces of a cultural stream coming from the north extended down as far as Argentina. A peculiar similarity also exists between the types of tobacco pipes that one finds in southern South America and in /Fig. 105 appears here/ North America. The tripod pottery which I found in my excavations in eastern Bolivia, in Mojos, also points to influences from the north.

S 276 171 S 523 171 172

Everyday Clothing

C Ce 291 177

In the villages in which the influence of the whites has not driven out the old attire, the Chané and Chiriguano women wear a sack-shaped garment, "tiru" (Fig. 106). This, as the photographs show, may be worn in various ways. In former times the tiru does not seem to have had its present shape. Viedma (2) says

2. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181.

the /201/ Chiriguano women merely had a piece of fabric around their hips. Undoubtedly, under the influence of the "moral" Christians, the costume developed so that it became "more decent." /Fig. 106 appears here./

6: Nordenskiöld--53 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
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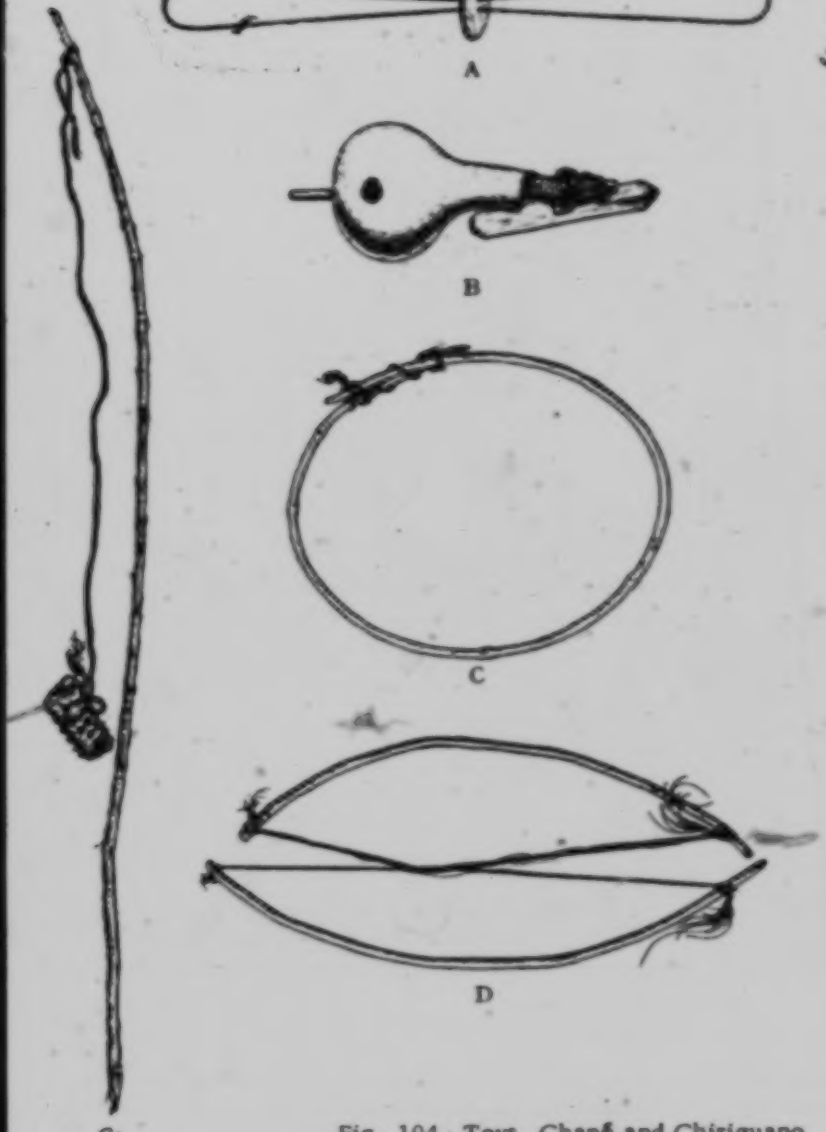

Fig. 104. Toys. Chané and Chiriguano.

A = "mou-mou." 1/6. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

B = buzzing top. 2/9. Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

C, C1 = hoop with whip. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

D = musical bow. 1/4. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

411
[714]
[114]
[524]
[126]
[171]

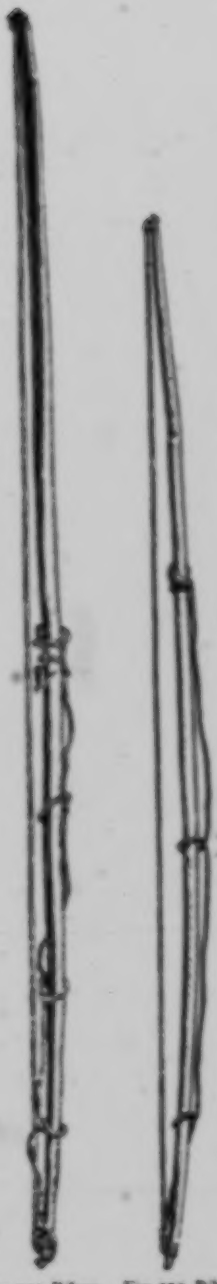

Fig. 201. Riksm. 03. 3. 850. For section, see fig. 203.

Fig. 202. Riksm. 03. 3. 851. For section, see fig. 204.

Longbows. Chiriguano. Bolivia. About 1/6.

On the left wrist they wore a small piece of wood as a protection against the blow of the bowstring.[1]

Curiously enough, the present-day Chiriguano type of bow does not seem to have been exhaustively described by anyone; not even in Schmidt's account of South American bow types,[2] otherwise so exact, is there any mention of the Chiriguano bow. The reason for this may very likely be found in the circumstance that these weapons are said to be of rare occurrence nowadays, and that such few specimens as are still being made, are mostly used as toys and on that account typologically degenerated. Twenty years ago, when I travelled through a part of the Chiriguano country, the bow was, however, not so rarely seen as a hunting weapon as now, and I collected the seven specimens now reposing in the ethnographical section of the Riksmuseum at Stockholm. Beside these, there are two Chiriguano bows brought home by Baron Nordenskiöld, one of which is a toy bow. Two other toy bows that have been brought to Sweden by Nordenskiöld belong to the Gothenburg Museum. This forms the material from which I have compiled the following description of the Chiriguano type of bow.

By their string-fastening arrangement the Chiriguano bows differ from the Chaco-Andean bow types, which latter as a rule have no neck-shaped bow-end projections for the string. On the other hand, all Chiriguano bows that I have studied, even the toy bows, have neck-shaped ends for fastening the string, a circumstance indicating that the Chiriguano bow is no acquisition from Chaco-

[1] de Lizarraga (1), p. 328. From Ed. Nordenskiöld.
[2] Schmidt (1), pp. 1027—1034.

St Schmidt--83 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

/34 cont./

Play

Of the different kinds of games, those found among the Chiriguano and the Chané are those of movement, those of skill, and those of chance. But the games of movement are only performed by children.

Among the games of movement we must mention here principally the game of ball, struck with the head. Nordenskiöld saw Chané boys play this. A solid rubber ball is first thrown into the air, and two teams parry it with their heads, without touching it with the hand. This game, called "toki" by the Chané, no doubt was much more common in former times and was also practiced by adults. This was stated to me by the cacique of the Izozó in Toledo and was stated long ago by the author of Litterae Annuae for 1605 with regard to the Chané (151).

151. Litterae Annuae, 1605, p. 4
According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 1.

It also follows from a Chané legend noted by Nordenskiöld (152).

152. Nord. 1, p. 261.

According to this legend, the fox "Aguaratumpa" sets the white condor free only on the condition that he obtain a white rubber ball. In what follows, the legend describes in detail how first the ostrich "Yandu" plays with the bat "Andira" with this ball, hitting it with his head. When the White Condor came flying out with the white ball, the Demon Aguaratumpa orders a bird to get a black rubber ball, and with this he plays the entire town, and the ostrich "Yandu" this time with the fox Aguaratumpa. /35/ The latter exchanged his ball for a stone and threw it at the ostrich. The latter, stopping the stone with his head, died.

Gt Scandr--67 E-5 (1600) 1926 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/36 cont./

Ee 859 524

Three other games of skill described by Nordenskiöld are played only by children (163). For one of these, called

163. Nord. 1. pp. 196 and 197.

"sĕvĕki," they use two arrows fitted with maize cobs (164).

164. Nord. 1. Fig. 102.

These two games are played by the children of the Chané of the Paraguay.

C 859 524

Nordenskiöld saw the third game, called "paraxa," played by the children of the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley (165).

165. Nord. 1. Fig. 103.

with small round stones, propelled with pieces of baked clay, they try to knock down a button, or some such thing, from a rock.

C 524 527 1-27

I obtained from the Chiriguano in Macharetí some children's toys which belong to these games of skill.

Toys in the Collection

I. A. 504. Top (Chiriguano). Length 18 cm.
I. A. 505. " " " " 18 cm. (Fig. 35b.)
I. A. 506. Rattle " " 25 cm.
I. A. 507. Small sling " " 55 cm.
I. A. 510. Toy called "mou-mou" (Chiriguano). Diameter of the disk 6 cm. (Fig. 36a.)

A specimen of a top similar to those mentioned (see Fig. 35b /see p. 89/) and originating among the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi valley is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (166).

166. Nord. 1. Fig. 104. 8.

Dr Schmidt-88 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

/36 cont./

C 524 177 The small sling I. A. 507, made out of a small forked stick, two strips of rubber obtained from an automobile tire, and leather, is not of native origin, nor is the rattle shown in Fig. 36a. /Plates XII-XIII appear here./

C 524 857 /37/ The toy shown in Figure 36a, called mou-mou by the Chiriguano, is made of a small gourd disk with a toothed edge and a double string. The latter passes through two holes in the disk. By alternately twisting and stretching this string, a rapid rotation of the disk is produced, together with a humming noise. Among other Chané children's toys there are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld a hoop with a rope, a musical instrument consisting of two bows (167), and a

Ce [524 857]

167. Nord. 1, Fig. 104. C and D.

C [171] small musket. The Chiriguano children in the Caipipendi valley and those of the Chorote also play with such muskets (168).

168. Nord. 1, Fig. 23.

C 524 Among the games of skill we must mention, finally, the string games, some of which are shown in sketches by Métraux, which a Chiriguano man made for him (169). The

169. Métraux I, pp. 443, 446. Plates 89 and 90.

Chiriguano children also know this game.

C Ce 524 There are two games of chance among the Chiriguano and the Chané. One, called "chúcaráy" by the Chiriguano and "chunquanty" by the Chané, is played with four small boards, and the other, called "asúcarets," with a large number of boards, concave on one side and convex on the other (170).

170. Nord. 1, p. 191 and Fig. 85.

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Plate XII

Fig. 33

524

Fig. 34

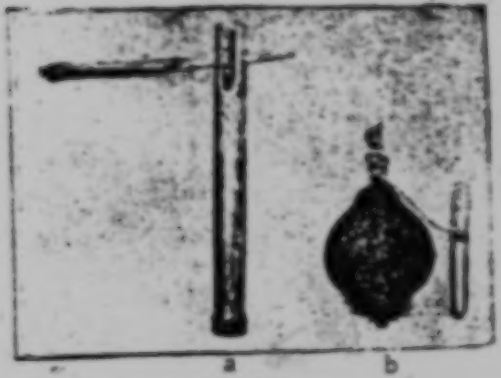

Fig. 35

534

Fig. 36

/The captions appear on p. 91./

St Schmidt--91 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XII and XIII/

C 534

Plate XII

Fig. 33. Wooden flutes, "serere" (Chiriguano): a (I. A. 492), length 20 cm.; b (I. A. 491), length 17 cm.

Fig. 34. a (I. A. 494): Cane flute (Chiriguano), length 41 cm.
b (I. A. 495): double whistle of cane (Chiriguano), length 33.5 and 7 cm.

C 524

Fig. 35. a (I. A. 506): rattle, a toy for children (Chiriguano), length 23.5 cm.
b (I. A. 505): top, a toy for children (Chiriguano), length 16 cm.

Fig. 36. a (I. A. 510): toy for children, "mou-mou" (Chiriguano), diameter of the disk 6 cm.
b (I. A. 509): sling (Chiriguano), length (without cords) 14 cm.

C Ce 411

Plate XIII

Fig. 37. Bows and arrows: a (I. A. 757), bow (Izozó), length 1.32 m.; b (I. A. 756), bow (Izozó), length 1.41 m.; c (I. A. 519), arrow (Chiriguano), length 1 m.; d (I. A. 521), arrow (Chiriguano), length 0.85 m.; e (I. A. 534), arrow for birds (Chiriguano), length 1.11 m.; f (I. A. 748), arrow (Izozó), length 0.94 m.; g (I. A. 528), arrow (Chiriguano), length 0.94 m.; h (I. A. 750), arrow (Izozó), length 0.835 m.

C 411

Fig. 38. (I. A. 517.) Macana (Chiriguano), length 0.64 m.

Ce 227

Fig. 39. (I. A. 764.) Fishing implement (Izozó), length 73.5 cm.

Pt Schmidt--9C E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce 524 199

/37 cont./

These Indians received two games of chance from the whites, the game of dice, which they call by the Spanish name "dado," and the game with a cow's leg bone, which they call "taba."

Agriculture

C Ce 241

I have already explained in the chapter on food and drink that the cultivation of maize as an agricultural product is common, and among the Chané of the Parapití the cultivation of the sweet potato. Mandioca is only cultivated rarely and has no importance in the economy of these Indians. Various species of beans are planted, also one species of cactus, some gourds which have edible fruits, and also a little tobacco.

C Ce 241 199

In addition to these edible or stimulating native plants that are cultivated, there are some others received from the whites, but these have little importance in the economy of these Indians. According to Nordenskiöld (171), they are the following: sugar

171. Nord. 2, pp. 23 and 24.

cane, peanuts, watermelon, muskmelon, figs, oranges and millet, and Métraux also mentions the pepper among them (172).

172. Métraux 1, pp. 338 and 339.

C Ce 241 [415] [383] [386]

In addition to these edible or stimulating plants, there are cultivated various species of gourds whose fruits are not edible but are used to make containers, cotton for making thread, urucú for obtaining red dye, and, among the Indians of the Parapití, also a species of cane, Harundo Donax /Arundo donax/, which grows wild in great quantity on the banks of the Pilcomayo, but not on those of the Parapití River.

fr Schmidt--99 E-9 (1930) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8
I2020
C
Ce 411 178 178
Ce 411

/40 cont./

steadily progressing, a consequence of its degeneration resulting from its gradually falling into disuse.

The form of all the bows collected among the Izozó is the same, discounting the insignificant differences with regard to their length. The wood of the bow, which is approximately 3 cm. wide, is flat on the side towards the string and convex on the opposite side. To better fasten the bowstring, each of them is provided at its ends with a quite marked narrowing and always considerably shorter at the upper end than at the lower end. /41/ Three of these Izozó bows show, when not flexed, the reflex form already mentioned by v. Rosen with respect to the Chiriguano bows. The bowstring, made of twisted strips of animal hide, is fastened in the common manner used by South American Indians. By means of a noose with a knot, it goes around the narrowing of the upper end of the bow, while the loop at the lower end is made so that it can either shorten or lengthen the bowstring as necessary. Cf. Fig. 37, a and b /see p. 90/. In all these bows a large part of the string is rolled up as a reserve around the wood of the bow. Bow I. A. 757, whose wood shows cracks on the side toward the string, has wood reinforcements in two places, one of them consisting of a wrapping with thread and the other a piece of the skin of a cow's tail, which has been slipped like a sleeve over the wood of the bow. Cf. Figure 37 /see p. 90/.

Ce 411 183 [239] [284]
Ce [239]

The three bows I. A. 758-760, made of light-colored wood, correspond in form to the others, but they are poorly made and appear to be cheap merchandise for trading. Bow I. A. 760 even has a cable wire in place of a string.

Ce 411

The small Chiriguano bow I. A. 518 is a bow made for children for shooting light arrows with a wire point, which have been enumerated in great number in the above list.

C 411 524

The length of the arrows I collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó is somewhat behind with respect to the length of the corresponding bows. The longest among them is a Chiriguano arrow for shooting birds, fitted with a club rather than a point, with a length of 1.11 m. Among the arrows fitted with iron

C Ce 411 [223]

/41 cont./

Ee 411

points, one Izozó specimen reaches a length of 1.07 m., and a Chiriguano specimen, a length of 1 m. This is the opposite of the observations that [illegible] Rosen made about Chiriguano arrows, that they were as large or even larger than the bows.

Ee [324] Without counting the Chiriguano arrows fitted with wire points, which no doubt are used only by children for shooting Ee [297] [324] at fish or birds and which are often made with wooden shafts, arrow shafts are universally made of cane, taken from the plant Arundo donax, which, as I have already mentioned above, is cultivated by the Chané of the Parapití River. According to Nordenskiöld, the Chané formerly also used the Ubá Ee 411 [324] (Cyrtocerium sp.), which they call "chochio" (188). The

188. Nord. 2. p. 26.

arrows collected among the Izozó are provided with iron points. Nordenskiöld also shows in drawings Chané arrows fitted with wooden points in the form of a lancet or dentate (189).

189. Nord. 2. Fig. 6. A and C.

Ee 411 Among the Chiriguano arrows in the collection, there are two fitted with iron points, one fitted with a dentate wooden point, one such wooden point without a shaft, and two arrows for bird hunting that are fitted with a club instead of a point. The Chiriguano arrows fitted with iron points correspond throughout to the Izozó ones with respect to form and material. Ee [284] The iron point is joined to the shaft by means of a piece of split wood and a wrapping of cord made from special tree bark and fastened with wax. The lower end of the cane shaft has a groove over which the end of the arrow is also fastened by a wrapping of the same cord secured with wax.

Ee 411 237 /42/ Some Chiriguano and Izozó arrows have feathering, others do not. While the feathering was lost on some of the arrows that do not have it now, as can be discerned from the remnants of wax which had served for attaching it, other arrows show clearly that they never had feathering. If there is feathering, the feather parts attached by means of wrapping with cord Ee [284] [191] and wax are small, as are those of most of the Chaco tribes.

8: Schmidt--102 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 411 /52 cont./
drawings by v. Rosen and v. Nordenskiöld (194). This club is

C 411 284 194. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 212. Nord. 2. Fig. 6. D and E.

fastened directly on the inside of the upper part of the shaft. The shaft of the larger arrow is made of the same cane as that of the other arrows, and that of the smaller arrow is light wood. The binding on the upper part and also on the lower part of C [239] the shaft of the longer arrow consists of cotton thread secured with wax. The two arrows have feathering and have the same groove at the bottom end of the shaft. Several specimens of Chiriguano bird-hunting arrows whose clubs show different forms are shown in drawings by Métraux (195).

195. Métraux I. Plates X-XI.

C G 411 174 [283] The special form of the club of the arrows for shooting birds (cf. Fig. 37e) and the special method of binding the shaft with a cord of tree bark and the length which these arrows formerly had lead us to the conclusion that this type of arrow, equally common today among the Chiriguano and Chané, is the ancient form of arrow that the Chiriguano brought from their native soil to the west. I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano and Chané bows and arrows were formerly much longer. But we can also assume that these implements of the hunt and weapons of war, in accordance with their greater importance, were formerly better made than they are today.

C G 411 524 According to Nordenskiöld, only rarely does the codoque, the bow for shooting balls, appear among the Chiriguano and Chané, and it is only used by youths and boys (196).

196. Nord. 2, p. 26.